1: Linton E-8 (1926-27) 1933 FYS Tanala FYS

jungle and heavy rain throughout a large part of the year. There 177
was little to tempt invaders, but in time it came to be occupied by 166
defeated groups who had been driven from the more desirable coast
and plateau. Once established, these groups had little contact with
the outside world. There was almost no trade. Their neighbors to
the east and north were lethargic and they were protected from the
more warlike plateau tribes partly by their poverty in cattle and
partly by the plateau people's dislike for jungle fighting. Diffusion
from the neighboring areas was, therefore, reduced to a minimum.

According to Menabe traditions the aboriginal inhabitants of 178
their territory were of very low culture. They offered no resistance 179
to the settlement of the invading people and soon amalgamated with
them. The early invaders, coming from both coast and plateau, are
said to have been fairly uniform in culture. Possibly many of the
historic differences between these areas had not yet been developed.
The method of life which they established has continued in the region
down to the present time with only slight modifications. Certain
new features have been adopted, but these can be checked by reliable
traditions which give both the group from whom the new trait was
borrowed and the approximate time of its introduction.

The culture of the Tanala Menabe is still uniform in most details, 181
the only really divergent division being the Zafimaniry, who came
into the region from the plateau in relatively recent times. In com-
parison with the other Madagascar cultures it is relatively simple and
I believe it to be archaic. In many respects it agrees closely with the
ancient culture of the more advanced tribes, as revealed in their
traditions.

III. TANALA ABORIGINES

173 Most of the Tanala clans claim to have originated either in the
563 plateau or on the coast but there are two genies of the Menabe, the Tevoandrika in the south and the Zanakanony in the north, whom the others believe to be aboriginal. At the present time neither of these has a definite territory, their members living scattered in the villages of the other clans. They have intermarried until there are no full-blooded individuals left and have adopted the culture of the other Tanala, but there are some curious and suggestive traditions in regard to them. The Tevoandrika are said to have been very short and of slight build, like undeveloped boys. They were dark
[142] brown, almost black in color and had short, kinky hair, round faces and round staring eyes. The peculiarity of the eyes seems to have been their most striking feature, for three different informants mentioned it first in describing them. They seem to have been in a low stage of culture, but the only thing clearly remembered is that they had no *fady* ("taboo").

[142] The Zanakanony in the north were also short but taller than the Tevoandrika, perhaps five feet to five feet four inches. They were light brown with long wavy or at most curly hair and were heavily muscled, with thick chests, broad shoulders, and heavy thighs and calves. Their waists, wrists, knees and ankles were slender. One informant said that they "were built like Frenchmen." When other clans entered the northern territory they found the Zanakanony living in caves. They built no houses except leaf shelters "like those the Tanala build when they have to spend a night in the forest." They had no metal, shaping their wooden implements with flakes of quartz crystal. These were made by holding a large crystal on end and striking the top with a round river boulder until it cracked into pieces lengthwise. The best fragments were chosen, used until blunted, and then thrown away. Naturally rough stones were used for grinding and polishing. They had neither the blow gun nor the bow. Their only weapons were spears made from the wood of the *Lambinana* or the *Aninona*, a species of palm. These spears were not barbed but might have two or more points if they could find a stick that forked properly. They also made forked spears by splitting the end of the stick with stone wedges and binding it below the split with vines, a technique still employed in making fish spears (Fig. 2, d). They made fire with a bamboo fire saw, although all the other clans made it with the firedrill. Informants were uncertain whether they

practised agriculture or had domestic animals but agreed that they were primarily hunters and food gatherers. They had neither chiefs nor slaves and had no *gens fadys* but spoke a language intelligible to the other Tanala. The present *Ikonakonony* have adopted the *fady* of the *Zafakotry* gens, which prohibit the killing or eating of the wild boar and the smoking of hemp. Also, when their women marry men of other gentes, they specify that the husband must not injure any of the mats or baskets in the house, for these are the woman's exclusive property.

The details just given were obtained from several different informants who agreed in all important points and I do not believe that they were invented. The description of the manufacture of stone implements in particular must have a basis of observation, for the Tanala themselves claim to have used iron since very ancient times. If true, the traditions point to the presence in Madagascar of a group which was still culturally in the old stone age. This is of great importance, for no stone implements other than a few hammer stones, rubbing stones and drill weights of types still in use have been reported from the island. Moreover, the physical type of this paleolithic group and their use of the fire saw would seem to link them with Indonesia rather than the neighboring African mainland.

619 101 There seems to have been little or no feeling of unity between these main divisions and I could not learn that they ever assisted each other in war. During the Imerina campaigns against the Ibongo, the Menalie, who had already submitted, remained quiet. Moreover, there were and still are certain cultural differences between the two. The Ibongo were better organized politically, with kings and a caste system like that of the southeast coast tribes. In their material culture they resembled the southeast coast in some respects and the Bara in others. The Menalie had no kings or castes until recent times. The division included one gens of pure plateau culture while the rest resembled the Betsimisaraka in many particulars.

DIVISIONS OF THE IBONGO

(From manuscript of Isidore Ramiaro)

114 [That part of the manuscript dealing with the royal gentes and castes has been given in the chapter on Social Organization. Although the account contains much extraneous matter, it has seemed best to quote it in full because of the picture it gives of the constant state of flux in the population and the diverse origin of the various groups.]

617 618 The Government of Ankarimbelo is divided into two Governments Mediniky: 1. Ankarimbelo, with the tribes [noniined gentes] Manambondro, Vohitromy, Vohimena-Ibelolina and Marohala. 2. Ambatofinaka, with the tribes Zanzavo and Tanalandroy. The whole group is known as Tanala or forest dwellers. All these tribes were independent, with their own chiefs, and were almost constantly at war with each other. Each tribe stayed in its own territory and knew nothing beyond it. [Here follows an account of the various castes and of the origin of the Zafiraimbo, the royal stock, which has been quoted in the chapter on Social Organization.]

MANAMBONDRO TRIBE.—Before the arrival of the Zafiraimbo in the Manambondro region it was inhabited by various gentes of different origin: the Sahavaro, Antambohy, Anio-Varandrano and Anio-Maromay.

173 618 The Sahavaro had been established in the region for about three hundred years when the Zafiraimbo arrived. According to traditions they were the aborigines of the region. From the time of Rakonjaro, their ancestor, until that of Rabolo, in the fourth generation after him, they stayed on Mount Sahavaro, from which they took their name. Rabolo's son, Ravoamaho, married Volovano and had two

children, Vatomirehitra and a pretty daughter, Ranivolondambo, who lived with their grandfather until a thunderstorm struck the village, doing great damage. After that Rafolo left his village, taking with him some water from the Manambondro River. He traveled south and finally settled beside a great river whose name he did not know. He threw the water he had brought into this river and from that time on it was called Manambondro. His descendants form the present genos of Rabehavana and Rafolo in the Government of Amparihy. Ravoambo, son of Rafolo, remained at Sahavara with his two children, Vatomirehitra and Ranivolondambo. When Andriampoilomera arrived at Ambalavato he was unmarried and went to Sahavara for Ranivolondambo. Their descendants form the present Zafirambo caste. Vatomirehitra stayed alone at Sahavara and his descendants form the present Sahavara gens.

The territory of the Antandroka is separated from that of the Sahavara by Mount Tangidy. They inhabit the valley of the Androkavato [lit. "stony river"], one of the tributaries of the Matitanana, and receive their name from it. The first inhabitant of Androka was named Idama. He lived at Karivavo, east of Mount Manjakavavo. Bara raiders, led by Tombonga and Andrianavony, arrived in the region and drove Idama and his family into the forest of Andohatadiravy, where he established himself at Antsavongotsimitombo. There he was joined by Ratsivavola and Rafotsivonga. The latter had a son, Raivakoa. Raivakoa had four sons, Andriampiloavana, Trangitsoa, Tiako and Ramainjaona. The three last named raised many dogs to hunt wild pigs. The dogs killed the calves and damaged the standing crops of the inhabitants. Andriampiloavana warned them to fasten up their dogs, but they paid no attention. He became angry and killed all the dogs, poisoning them with nofo bark.

Tiako and Ramainjaona were so incensed that they left him and traveled north. They carried with them roots of the akondro variety ("black banana") and kofika and water from the Androkavato River. They settled for a time at Malanavavy, near Ansalia [Government of Fort Carnot], where they planted their bananas and kofika. They then moved north again and settled at Andranavy Lakandava on one of the tributaries of the Onilo River. There a chief named Tsimisitra gave them a good reception. They planted the rest of their bananas and kofika there and threw the water they had brought into the river. Because of this the upper part of the Onilo River is still called Androka.

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Trangitena, the second brother, turned south and settled in the upper valley of the Manamu. There he had two sons, Rajahombao and Andriamampovao. The three allied themselves with Vevombe, chief of the Ante-Manamu and defeated the Antemiramena. Trangitena and his sons then left Andoho-Manamu and established themselves at Telana, in the territory of the Anteriemana.

Andriampihavana was the only one of the four brothers who stayed in his birthplace. He had a son named Andriamarofaka. This son was attacked by Andriantaivy and fled to Andrasomiangan, at the foot of Mandrinavo. He settled successively at Talamary and Ambanitadiravy, dying at the latter place. He had a son Samotra, ironically called Trimo, because of his huge beard. The son of Samotra, called Andrianiha, lived on the rock of Analamaloka. He had a son, Andriarevo, who settled at Antanimena. There Andriarevo had two children, Imoty and a daughter, Ialo. She married a warrior of the Ante-Riemana, named Andrianaly, who lived at Sahakondro. Imoty, the son of Andriarevo, settled at Antihahena, at the foot of Mount Mandrinavo, and Andrianaly, the husband of Ialo, at Andranoira, east of Analamaloka.

Three Zafimanara named Andriantaroka, Soloy and Saluabe, coming from the country of the Antaimorona tribe, established themselves one after the other at Ambatoharana. Raiambolory, from the Zanzanava tribe (Ambatofinaka) arrived and settled at Karimoro. At the same time an Antaimorona ombiasy ["medicine-man"] named Ramanantolo came from Androka and settled at Ambatoharana. The six great men just mentioned asked him to make an *ody* ["charm"] to improve their condition. They gave him a robe, silver and six head of cattle. He prepared his charm at Andranomaloka, which in consequence was afterward called Andranomahoana. The water at Andranomaloka was very low at that time, but the *ombiasy* told the inhabitants: "If my *ody* is successful, this water will become deep and black and you will catch a large *fanany* [a species of snake which the Betsileo believe develops from the bodies of dead royalty]. All that will bring you good luck." After the *ombiasy* had left for the high plateau the water became deep and black and they saw a big *fanany*. Surprised at this the people cried out: "Oh, now our water has become Maintimbahatra" [lit "blackened by the rubatra," i.e., "amulets"]. This is the origin of the name of the river, Maintimbahatra. Finally, the six men, Imoty, Andrianaly, Andriantaroka, Soloy, Raiambolory and Saluabe lived peacefully at Androka and their descendants form the Antandroka gens.

The Ante-Varandrano live along the left bank of the Sahonjatay River, a tributary of the Manambondro. They are made up of four families: 1. Ante-Fenoarivo, 2. Taimpodrano, 3. Sarodry, 4. Vohijaha.

The Ante-Fenoarivo originated as follows: Three brothers, Raberafy, Rabe and Rasamy, lived on Mount Ambohitra east of Ambohimakamasina [Ambalavao]. Because of a dispute with his brothers Rasamy went east with his family and settled at Mount Ankaramena. One cold night he lit a big fire to warm himself. The chief Filoerana, who lived on Mount Tangidy, sent a messenger to investigate. He sent this message to Rasamy: "If you want to be under my rule I will protect you and give you a good piece of land. If you do not, return to your home, for this is not your territory." Unwilling to return to his brothers, Rasamy accepted the offer and settled at Andakatopona [south of Mamolifoly]. Later the Zafrumbo [the royal gens of the region] transferred their fahary ["common tomb"] to a cave at Andakatopona. Rasamy left the neighborhood and settled finally at Fenoarivo. Hence the name of the family.

The ancestor of the Taimpodrano was named Vorombelo. He lived on Mount Taimpodrano [northwest of Anivorano] for a long time. He married Rasoavano and founded the family Zafindrasoavano or Taimpodrano.

The ancestor of the Sarodry was named Tsaotsa. He belonged to the region and lived on Mount Sarodry [north of Anivorano]. He married Rano and founded the family. His son was Tahotra, who begot Ringa, who begot Ilaky, who begot Ilafaky, who begot Inahaky, who begot Tsaravita. Tsaravita had two sons, Itamy and Ivoky. Itamy begot Indriamiseva, who begot Ipity. Ivoky begot Samolamana, who had three descendants (sons?), Masimana, Taivahora and Imainty.

The ancestor of the Vohijaha, also called Anivorano, was named Ramahafombo. He lived on Mount Vohijana [north of Anivorano]. He married Zafindravary and begot Ravelo, who begot Ramanaldiry, who begot Tsarandro and Talhirova. Tsarandro begot Tsiravy, who begot Tsaramaza and Ialandika. Talhirova begot Mazoegalaza, who begot Vazaha, Havaravy, Andriamiviola, and Rafeja.

[In this and the preceding genealogy only those sons are given who were founders or heads of lineages. Apparently the record has been brought up to the time the manuscript was written, circa 1910.]

I: Linton B-S (1926-27) 1933 FYI Tanala FYI

618 The Ante-Marovony gens is formed of four families: 1. Ante-Be, 2. Taimasova, 3. Maintimbolo, 4. Tokanomo. It occupies the left bank of the Matitanana River from the ancient village of Itoto to Behazava. Its ancestor, Ralamaka, lived at Managaro, but its real origin is uncertain. Like the Sohavana, this gens is descended from the first inhabitants of the Manambondro.

618 173 VOHITROMY TRIBE.—The name of this tribe is formed from *vohitro* ["village," also the name of the commoner caste] and *ony* ["goat"]. Before the Vohitromy arrived the Ante-Vongo and Vohibato, the first inhabitants of the high valley of the Matitanana River, raised many goats. When these two tribes had been driven out by Rabenontany, ancestor of the Vohitromy, an ordinary of the Antaimoromo tribe, named Masindava, told him that he and his descendants must never raise goats. He said it was the cause of the defeat of the earlier inhabitants. This *fady* ["taboo"] is still observed.

The Vohitromy tribe originated as follows: Two brothers named Ravij and Rabenontany lived at Itrongna, a region between the boundaries of Ikony and Ambalavao. At that time the country was covered with an immense forest. One day a stroke of lightning fell there and burned a large part of the forest. Everyone was frightened and the brothers decided to leave the region. They went east and settled first at Lemaka [district of Ambalavao]. Later Ravij returned home. Rabenontany stayed at Lemaka and married a Betsileo woman named Razandra. He had two children, Rabearo and Rabelasa. Later he left Lemaka with his family and continued east to Tsiriamina, a wooded mountain to the south of Vinaninony [Ankarimbelo]. This region was inhabited by several gentes, the Ante-Vongo, the Vohibato and the Ante-Varondrano, who were at war with each other. The chiefs of the last two went to Rabenontany to demand why he had come. He told them he was traveling east in search of a fertile region. The chiefs, Andriambovindrano of the Vohibato and Ramby of the Ante-Varondrano, allied themselves with him and said: "If you can vanquish our enemies the Ante-Vongo and drive them out of this region, your descendants shall be kings of it. Rabearo and Rabelasa, helped by their father and their allies, fought with the Ante-Vongo but were unable to drive them out of the territory for good. In order to police the region better, the two brothers separated. Rabearo installed himself at Anorimbato [south of Vinaninony], fought the Ante-Vongo on the slopes and finally drove them to Sahatsoma [district of Ivohibe]. Rabelasa stayed with his father at Andrianonjoby [northeast of Vinaninony].

A gigantic Antaimoronina warrior named Masindava arrived at Andrianampidy. Rabemontany demanded the object of his visit and he said that he sought a region to pacify. Rabemontany invited him to chase the Anta-Vongo. Masindava and Rabeloza fought the Anta-Vongo successively at Ambondro, Anandjovidy and Ambaumbiry and finished by driving them into the upper valley of the Sahafina, where they took the name of Vasimasinty. Some years later two brothers belonging to the Anta-Vongo, named Raborova and Rasanga, and their sister Soaboka returned to the region. The chief Raborova took Soaboka to wife and their descendants formed the family Zafirasondro. Rasondro, wife of Rabemontany, together with the descendants of Rabeloza, formed the family Anta-Be. In addition to these the region is occupied by two little families, the Zafindrahazaka [Antaisambitra] and the Vinanimany [Anorimbato-Ankarimbelo]. 618 175

VOHIMANA-HAZAFINA TRIBE.—This tribe occupies the valleys of the Manama and Sahafina rivers. It is encountered two hours' march south of the post of Ankarimbelo. As the name indicates, the tribe is composed of two gentes: the Anta-Manama, commonly called Vohimana, and the Sahafina.

The Anta-Manama were the original inhabitants of the region. Their ancestor was named Rakidinto. He lived in a village at the juncture of the Manama and Matitanana rivers. From there he went to Anosimany, south of Kondromainty on the left bank of the Manama River, which in those days was called Sahanikatry. Appreciating the richness and beauty of the territory Rakidinto cried: "Manama itoy tany itoy" ["How seductive is this land."]. From this they gave the name Manama to the river which flowed near his house. The river gave the name to the gens, Anta-Manama. Rakidinto married Hasakoa and had a son named Rapipika. The son left Anosimany and settled at Ifahira, south of Ambohaka. His son, Radingadinga, had a child, Ravovombe, from whom the Anta-Manama are descended.

The Zafintsira, who are also a part of the Vohimana, are the descendants of Ratsira, who first lived at the foot of Mount Vatovavy, situated in the upper valley of the Manandjary River, north of the district of Hanadiana. As the result of a civil war, Ratsira left Vatovavy and went south to Vohitrania [northwest of Mitsemaka]. Later he settled at Antanjongoa [north of Ambatobaravaa]. There he had six children, Bibidaby, Manasikay, Ratsimanoly, Mavodaby, Andrianatalia and Tsimandroa. Ratsira and his family were attacked by the Vohitrovay, who killed all except Tsimandroa, his youngest child. Tsimandroa fled, swam the Matitanana and settled at Mount Hampo.

on the left bank of the river. He had a child named Fiankina. After his father's death, Fiankina left Ikongo and settled at Isahoky [northeast of Kondromain y]. There he died after having two children, Tsimamanga and Vavaoka, from whom the Zafindrava are descended.

About fifty years after the arrival of the Ante-Menama and Zafintsira, immigrant Antaimoronia, called Zafindrafana, arrived among the tribe. They fought with the natives and seized rule of the region. A hundred years later the Ikova Vohimana [the royal group of the Vohimana-Sahafina tribe] appeared. Their exact origin is unknown, but according to tradition they are the descendants of Andrianbomondrano, who was born at Ambalony near Isalo [Benaitra in the Ikova territory]. He had a son, Andrimatahimaro, who was defeated by an Imerina expedition and fled eastward. He settled at Ikongo, near Vohitrovy [Ambalonge]. There he had a son named Andriamijonjo. This son left Ikongo and established himself at Vohitrarivo, north of Ambohaka. There he had a son named Andriamihaona. This son had two children, Andrianatsimbory and Andrianamilona. The former left Vohitrarivo and settled at Anony [home of the Ante-Ikongo]. Andrianamilona lived with his father, but they were attacked by the Zafindrafana and the father killed. Andrianamilona sought refuge in the high plateau, being still young. When he was grown he returned to the region and stayed at Ambohimanga [in territory of the Vohitrovy tribe]. The Ante-Manonga heard of the return of their young king, went for him, and brought him to Vohitrarivo. He commenced the war against the Zafindrafana, finally defeating them and having their chief, Ravorombe, dead on the field. After this conquest Andrianamilona named his gens the Vohimana, in memory of Ambohimanga, his residence while in exile.

MARONDALA TRIBE.—This tribe lies about two hours' march southeast from the post at Ankarimbelo. North and east of it are the Mentaonona, south the Sahafina and west the Vohitrovy. The region was originally occupied by the Zafindrafana, Vohimana and Sahafina. These gentes were defeated by the Ante-Manambondro, who completely overran the region. The Vohimana and Sahafina asked help from the Marondala-Sandrananta. These sent an expedition against the Ante-Manambondro. It was directed by Andrianamarombo, Manjakamaro and Mahery, with Tsilatsa, Ramany and Laka as helpers. The Ante-Manambondro were defeated and driven back into their own territory. The victors remained in the region and formed the Marondala tribe.

ZAFIMANIRY TRIBE.—The villages of this tribe are nearly all on the left bank of the Manambondro, with the exception of Ampandranana, which is on the right bank. Before the arrival of the Zafirambo on the Sandranantsia, the lower Manambondro was uninhabited. The Zafirambo, anxious to increase their territory, sent two members of their gens to occupy it. These were Andriamasilaza and Fanony, of the Sahavaony family, with their children Ravalotera and Rasambolamy. They settled at Ambinanitsony, at the confluence of the Manambondro and Matitanana. Their descendants took the name Zazamava. The Sahavaona, from Tangidy, joined Andriamasilaza and their descendants kept the same name. Several years later, various small families, Taisamy, Tambodiria, Zazanafiringa and Sahanary, established themselves successively in the region. They joined with the first arrivals and the descendants of the group are the Zazamava.

TANALAMBRAVY TRIBE.—This tribe is made up of small villages scattered in the forest. Its territory is bounded on the east and south by the district of Vohipeno, on the north by the Government of Fort Carnot, and on the west by the territory of the Zazamava. The region was first occupied by the Ante-Taimatra. Later, these were conquered by the Antaimory, Vohilelo and Zafindraony, coming from the upper valley of the Manampjory. The Antaimory established themselves at Vohodroy, Ramahalaitra, Ramondo and Mahazomana. The Vohilelo established themselves at Rainilaiahitra and Ramondo. The Zafindraony established themselves at Fainilaimandro. The Ante-Taimatra were driven to the right bank of the Matitanana.

Later the Zafirambo sent one of their number, Tsiriamory, into the Tanalambravy territory. He sought the chief Ramahalaitra and his allies and asked permission to settle in the region. "We will allow you to settle among us," Ramahalaitra said, "but we will not recognize you as king." Tsiriamory said: "That is understood. All I ask is that all the cattle you offer to your ancestors shall henceforth have their throats cut by me and my descendants." [The right to kill cattle, *Mamon-dolo*, is often vested in a single gens in other tribes as well. The killers receive certain parts of the animal in payment.] This was agreed to and Tsiriamory settled among them. Later he brought his mother, who belonged to the *Ante-Maha* gens at Vohipeno, to stay with him. The little fa nilina, Ante-Saha, Antambahy and Ante-Ondry, also established themselves in the region at this time. The descendants of all these form the Tanalambravy.

This account is certainly incomplete as far as the minor divisions of the various main groups are concerned. I found that my

1: Linton E-6 (1926-27) 1932 FYS 1 anala FYS

243 no taboo against wet rice, but rarely raise it, because of the labor involved. The Zafimaniry still have a strong taboo against it.
• [173] According to their own tradition, they were the last of the Merina peoples to settle in the territory. They originally lived in the Ankaratra, a mountainous part of the plateau, and raised wet rice, like the other tribes of this area. Enemies attacked them when their men were dispersed, repairing their rice terraces. They were driven out of their territory and when they re-established themselves, they tabooed wet rice cultivation, which they held responsible for the calamity. The taboo is so strong that when Betsileo immigrants began to cultivate wet rice in their country, some twenty-five or thirty years ago, they broke down the terraces and destroyed the crop.

Tanala wet rice culture is still crude in comparison with that of the plateau tribes. They do not use fertilizer, sow in seed beds, or transplant. Terrace systems are still very rare. The soil of a natural swamp is turned over with spades to a depth of about 1 foot, all but the largest vegetation being dug in. Cattle are then driven back and forth over the plot until the earth is churned to a soft muck. The rice is sown broadcast but not trodden in. Later, the crop is weeded once or twice. The harvest sacrifice is the same as for the camp.

241 In addition to rice and the plants grown in the camp, the Menabe
245 grow bananas, sweet potatoes and sugar cane. None of these are of great economic importance. Bananas are planted in or near the village, often in solitary clumps. The young plants are sometimes fenced in to protect them from pigs, but require no other care. The fruit is small and of indifferent quality. It is cut green and hung up over the fireplace, where it soon becomes blackened with smoke. It is allowed to become soft and thoroughly ripe, then eaten raw. The plantain seems to be unknown.

286 The Tanala do not use banana fiber. The Betsileo, their neigh-
f71 bors, formerly used it extensively in weaving and raised certain varieties of banana almost exclusively for it. They claim that it was the first material woven by them.

244 Sweet potatoes are grown from the shoots. Bunches of these are planted in holes at intervals of about 2 feet. The ground is not prepared. New patches may be weeded a month or two after planting, but the growth of the vines is so luxuriant that they soon strangle all other vegetation. The plants begin bearing in six to eight months and continue to produce for two or three years, after which the tubers become small and fibrous. The roots are dug a few at a time, as

rooted, the digger locating them by prodding the soil with a pointed 244
stick. The patches are small and are always near the village.

Sugar cane grows in isolated clumps in or near the villages. I saw 249
no plantations. The stalks are chewed, like candy, and bundles of the leaves are sometimes used as torches. The juice is also extracted by crushing the cane between wooden rollers. This is allowed to ferment and is then drunk as beer or distilled into rum. No sugar or syrup is made.

Castor oil plants are often to be seen growing near the villages and a few of them are sometimes planted in the fary. The oil is extracted with a crude press, like that used for honey. It is used in hair dressing and is often a part of charms. Whole beans are (254)
also used to make a sort of taper or night light.

Small and extremely hot red peppers are used as a condiment. 243
They grow wild on old village sites and abandoned fields.

The Tanala believe that all their crops are indigenous. A very 241
careful investigation failed to reveal any traditions of the introduction 173
of maize, manioc or tobacco.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

The Tanala originally had the following domestic animals: dogs 231
(amboha), cattle (omby), goats (bengy), chickens (akoho), and a very large duck with dark plumage and red wattles (dakotra). Sheep, cats, ordinary ducks and geese and turkeys have all been introduced within the historic period, but are of little economic importance. In the drier and less heavily forested parts of the Tanala territory guinea fowl have been semi-domesticated since ancient times. Eggs are taken from the nests of the wild birds and the young hatched and reared by hens. They are fed on a special diet of termite eggs and larvae. Apparently guinea fowl will not breed in captivity and are usually killed as soon as they become full grown.

The native dog is almost extinct, due to repeated crossing with other breeds. It stands about 18 inches at the shoulder and is solid yellowish brown or black, with white under parts. The coat is medium long, fine and glossy. The tail is fringed and is carried low. The head is wide between the ears, with a muzzle of medium length and strong jaws. The ears are rather large, pointed, and erect. The animal appears wealthy in its movements and rarely barks.

Dogs are used to trail wild pig and to bring the animal to bay (229)
so that it can be speared by the hunters. They are never used

241 415 rail are tied together. The tension draws the strip of bamboo against the bolt, closing the opening (Fig. 6, c). Similar bolts are used by the southeast coast tribes but are rare or lacking elsewhere in Madagascar.

POTTERY

223 173 According to the legends and traditions of the Tanala Menabe the Zafimaniry were the only gens of that division to manufacture or use pottery in ancient times. Later, several other gentes learned the art from them and from the Betsileo, but they never became great potters and abandoned clay vessels as soon as iron pots became common. It is remembered that the pottery was limited to crude cooking pots except among the Zafimaniry, who had bowls and water jars as well, but the methods of manufacture and even the shapes have been forgotten.

[114] According to the manuscript of Father Lacaine the Tanala Ikongo manufactured cooking pots as recently as twenty years ago. The ware is said to have been hard and well fired. It was given a black, glossy finish by rubbing it with graphite.

A number of Madagascar tribes, including all those on the east coast, make no pottery. Other tribes, who now use it, say that they have only begun to do so within the last five or six generations. It seems probable that it was introduced into Madagascar in relatively late times. The best areas for its diffusion seems to be among the Betsileo and Betsimisaraka in the plateau, with a possible second center among the northern Sakalava, on the west coast.

WEAVING OF COTTON

252 In describing the methods of Tanala cooking it is necessary to distinguish between the ancient methods, in vogue before the introduction of pottery and later of iron pots and roasting forks, and those now in use. As pointed out, the former survive only as a part of ceremonial, or as makeshifts used in the absence of proper utensils.

Traditionally, the earliest method of preparing rice was to steam the grains and toast them over a fire. This survives as a feature of the harvest sacrifice (see Agriculture), but is otherwise obsolete. Later, rice and other vegetable foods were boiled in large joints of green bamboo. The joint was pumped up at an open fire and the food would be cooked before it burned through.

Meat was laid on a bed of coals or cooked in a sort of earth-oven called *ensongora*. A hole was dug and lined with large leaves. The

287 of softer wood (Fig. 14, a). Both sides of the head are covered with cross-hatching. The anvil is a rectangular piece of wood about 8 inches wide, 6 inches thick, and 16 to 18 inches long, with a smooth, flat top.

After the first beating, the bark is laid on the earth in a damp, shady place and left for three or four days. It absorbs moisture and when it has become damp and flexible it is beaten a second time. The material is then ready for use. It is not washed at any stage of the manufacture. The beating expands the bark to, at most, three times its original width. In making smocks, blankets, etc., these strips are sewn together with fiber thread.

The finished bark cloth is reddish brown in color, fading to a pinkish tan on exposure to the sun. It is rather stiff and thicker than any Oceanic bark cloth. It plainly shows the marks of the beater (Fig. 14, b). Apparently it is never painted or otherwise decorated.

MANUFACTURE OF CLOTH

216 According to their own traditions the Tanala were originally
217 ignorant of weaving. The Ikongo and other southern Tanala dressed in mats, like the southeast coast Vohu, and still do so except where they have obtained cloth through trade. The Menabe dressed in bark cloth, but adopted weaving shortly before the beginning of the historic period and now dress entirely in cloth. The art entered the Menabe territory from two directions. Raffia weaving was learned from the neighboring Betsimisaraka tribe and gradually spread to all the genres. Rejoice weaving, on the other hand, was brought into the area by the Zafimaniry when they fled from the plateau. It has spread little, if at all, among the other genres, although the neighbors of the Zafimaniry purchase and use the finished product.

218 The preparation of raffia has been described under Forest Products. When it is to be manufactured into cloth, it is first shredded into thin filaments. This is done by tying one end of a bunch to a post and combing it with an iron comb. These combs usually have four sets of teeth, used for shredding to different sizes (Fig. 14, d). After shredding the filaments are tied end to end to form a continuous thread, the ends of the knots being cut as short as possible with a small iron knife. The tying is done on a frame, two types being used. One of these consists of a raffia midrib through one end of which a stick is thrust at right angles while a second stick is driven into the upper surface near the other end. The whole form is reminiscent of a cross-bow (Fig. 14, c). The thread is passed over one

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the two lower classes among the Menabe is equally applicable to the Tanala. There were, however, two gentes of *hova* rank. One of these, the Zafirambo, claimed Arab descent, the other, called simply *hova*, apparently was an offshoot of the Bara tribe. The Zafirambo established their claim to *hova* rank as follows (MSS. of Sadaro Antoine): "After Andrianamahitsy [head of the original lineage] had settled at Maroseandilitra, on the left bank of the Manambondro River, his descendants multiplied rapidly and soon occupied almost the whole Sandrananta valley. They were excellent warriors, respected by the neighboring gentes. They always occupied Sandrananta, but at a later time, when the neighboring gentes were constantly at war with each other, some of them asked the 'hova Zafirambo' of Sandrananta to govern them and put an end to strife. The children of Rabelava and Rabesaro [heads of the Vohitrosy gens] constantly fought among themselves, wanting to be king. One of the sons of Rabelava, called Tsimiky, went to Sandrananta to ask for a king. He was given Ramanoviriry, who installed himself first at Ambalavelo and later at Vohibolovo. Part of the Vohitrosy gens was hostile to him and he conquered it, bringing the whole gens under his rule. The establishment of Zafirambo kings put an end to war, for no chief of the Vahoaka [original inhabitants] would dare to attack a gens governed by a Zafirambo. If he did, all the Zafirambo of Sandrananta would be against him. The Zafirambo kings married Vahoaka women and the two groups soon became a single family. It is for this reason that we now have Zafirambo and Vahoaka living in the same villages."

Under the Tanala system social class and gentile affiliation were incomparable. When a gens succeeded in dominating other gentes and making them recognize the control of its chief, or of chiefs of its blood, all members of the gens assumed noble rank. The bulk of the "nobles" would continue to live in their own territory and while their new status brought social prestige its economic value was almost nil. Their main duty in the state was to act as a police force, keeping peace among the subject gentes and protecting them from outside aggression. Among the Tanala the whole institution of nobility was relatively new and I could learn of no case in which a noble gens had lost its domination. Among neighboring tribes, who had essentially the same system, a noble gens which had been conquered was not degraded to the common level. Such gentes formed a class intermediate between nobles and commoners and retained a certain social prestige. They were distinguished by a class name and might have

IX. WEAPONS AND WARFARE

Weapons

The Tanala Menabe have a number of traditions regarding the introduction of various weapons. According to these, the aborigines of their territory had no arms except wooden spears. These were made from *Lambinaona*, a large tree with moderately hard, heavy wood, or *Aninona*, a small palm which has an extremely hard rind ⅛ to ¼ inch thick. The latter wood is said to be somewhat poisonous, wounds received from it festering and healing with difficulty. The *Lambinaona* spears were sometimes plain, sometimes forked, like those used until recent times for fishing (Fig. 2, d). The *Aninona* spears were simply pointed staves. Neither was barbed.

The first invaders are said to have been armed with *Aninona* spears, a peculiar missile weapon called *kinala* or *sonindro*, slings, iron axes of two types and shields. The blow-gun came into use later, although still in remote times. Spears with iron heads did not come into use until near the beginning of the historic period. They were copies from those of the plateau tribes. Guns were obtained from the east coast tribes, who acted as middlemen between the Tanala and European traders. Swords and fighting knives were unknown until the Imerina domination and never became popular.

In historic times the principal weapon has been the spear. Spears of *Aninona* wood are still occasionally used and are said to be little inferior to those of iron. They are usually simple poles, 5 to 6 feet long and about 1 inch wide, ground to a smoothly tapering point. In a few specimens the shape of the iron spears has been imitated (Fig. 24, k). Iron spears are divided by the natives into three types, based on the shape of the blade (Fig. 24, f, g, h). They are usually crudely made and lack the spade-like butt piece characteristic of other Madagascar spears. Heavy spears (Fig. 24, f) were, and still are, used in pig hunting, the lighter forms only in war. They were always thrown, the axe being used for close fighting. It is said that war spears were sometimes poisoned, but the composition of the poison has been forgotten.

The *kinala* is of considerable interest. It seems to have no parallels outside Madagascar but may be distantly related to some African throwing knives. It is made from two straight spikes of *Aninona* wood about ¼ inch in diameter and 16 to 18 inches long (Fig. 25, c). These are notched in the center and bound together

531 part, as small figurines of men and animals which are made for sale
322 to Europeans, and is indistinguishable from that of the Bara.

Among the Menabe, other than the Zafimaniry, there are no professional carvers. However, men who make large ladles for sale now decorate the handles of these with simple designs. The handle is first blackened for a few inches above the bowl. This may be done either by searing the wood with a red-hot iron and then rubbing the charred surface with a rag dipped in grease, or simply by rubbing with a mixture of grease and soot. The designs are then cut through this black layer, exposing the lighter wood beneath. They are large and very simple. They consist of bands, spots, etc., symmetrically arranged (Fig. 7, d). The carving is so shallow that when the black color has disappeared through use it is often difficult to tell whether the ladle has been decorated or not. I could not trace the origin of this type of decoration, but it is said to be a recent development. It may have been borrowed from either the Bara or the tribes of the southeast coast, both of whom use a similar technique. The ladle makers say that it increases the salability of their ware.

The Zafimaniry are excellent wood carvers and, in former times, decorated their houses, beds, and some of their wooden utensils with beautiful and rather complicated designs. At the present time wooden houses and the large enclosed beds (see Dwellings) are obsolete, but the
[328] carving of utensils is still common. Zafimaniry carvings are in demand with Europeans and civilized natives and they have recently begun to produce objects of new types, especially folding tables and purely ornamental boxes. The latter are rectangular, a shape unknown in ancient times (Figs. 32, c; 33, c; 34, a), or graceful modifications of the comb-topped type formerly used for timber boxes (Fig. 33, a, b). At the time of my visit there was even a small factory at Ambositra, where several Zafimaniry carvers worked under the direction of the
[171] Imerina owner. The products of this factory were marketed in the capital. Although the carvings made for sale are technically inferior to the old work and rarely show the more complicated designs, there has been little European influence on the art itself. In over a hundred specimens which I examined I could not detect a single European motif.

532 The Zafimaniry say that their art of carving was already fully
173 developed when they entered the Tanala territory from the plateau.
531 However, they have certain stories in regard to its development which probably contain much truth. They say that, in the earliest times, they did not carve designs but decorated their wooden objects

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322 by means of a fluted plane (Fig. 11, a, f). This plane gave a series of
53 parallow, parallel grooves. By changing the direction of the planing
173 it was possible to produce cross hatching with the lines either diagonal
or at right angles. The fluted plane decoration has only become
obsolete in the last fifteen or twenty years. An example of it is shown
in Fig. 32, a. The same effects are now produced with a very narrow
gouge (Fig. 10, j). This is more laborious but gives much greater
precision.

The earliest instrument used for carving designs was a small knife
of the ordinary type (Fig. 1, f). At the present time this has been
[171] almost completely replaced by small chisels, usually of European
origin. Most of these are straight edged, but turners' chisels, with
a slanting edge, are just beginning to come into use. Both chisels
and gouges are used without a mallet. The tools are usually held
and used in European fashion, but it seemed to me that the carvers
worked toward their bodies rather more than white artisans would
have done.

322 All the old Zafimaniry carvings are made on hard wood. Soft
53 woods are now beginning to be used, but only for export pieces. The
surface of the wood is never blackened. Before the carving begins,
the surface is smoothed and given a dull polish. Commercial sand-
paper is now used for this even in remote districts. The ancient
carvers worked free hand, carrying the design in their minds, but at
present practically all of them sketch in the designs in pencil. This
is done to save time. Formerly, large circles and arcs were outlined
with an iron point attached to a piece of cord while smaller ones were
[171] carved free hand. At present, European compasses are in almost
universal use.

The Zafimaniry do no carving in the round or even in modeled
relief. The decoration follows the contour of the object exactly and
the carving appears flat, due to a complete absence of curved surfaces.
The designs are worked out by a combination of very shallow and
moderately deep cuts with no intermediate levels. The shallow cuts
are a sixteenth of an inch or less deep and are made with a gouge
or the point of a knife. I saw only one instance in which the gouge
had been used to outline a curve. Apparently the limitation of its
use to straight lines is not due to lack of skill, for the carvers really
made curves with it on request, but to the fact that it is a substitute
for the fluted plane. The latter could only be used for straight lines
and the convention thus established has persisted. The knife is used
for outlining circles and curves. Such outlines are usually simple
[Haas collection, Bk. p. 55 - pen & pencil]